

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /078 W  
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P 191720Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5698

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1043

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINR, CY, US

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATION: THE APPROACH TO CONTINUATION IN  
NICOSIA

REF: (A) NICOSIA 1033, (B) NICOSIA 0814 (NOTAL), (C) NICOSIA  
736 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE DE CUELLAR IS WORKING WITH PARTIES IN EFFORT TO ENSURE A FEW MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS IN LATE MAY BEFORE DE CUELLAR DEPARTS FOR JUNE UNSC DEBATE ON UNFICYP RENEWAL. TURKISH AMBASSADOR PREDICTS AN INEVITABLE FALLOW PERIOD IN JUNE AND JULY WHILE A NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT ORGANIZES ITSELF. WALDHEIM IS READY TO PRESIDE OVER ANOTHER PLENARY SERIES IN VIENNA OR IN NICOSIA IN EARLY AUGUST. COMMENT: IF THIS IS ALL THAT WOULD OTHERWISE HAPPEN BETWEEN NOW AND A LATE SUMMER RE-CONVENING UNDER WALDHEIM, USG MIGHT DO WELL TO CONSIDER A FURTHER CLIFFORD MISSION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER TURKISH ELECTIONS TO PROMOTE GREATER RECONCILIATION OF SUBSTANCE.

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END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING POINTS OF INTEREST ARE FROM MEETINGS BETWEEN DCM, UN SENIOR POLAD GORGE AND VISITING SECRETARIAT OFFICER GORGE SHERRY APR 18, AND AMBASSADOR, UNSYG SPECREP DE CUELLAR AND GORGE APR 19. BOTH MEETINGS DEALT WITH (A) VIENNA IN RETROSPECT AND (B) APPROACH TO CONTINUED NEGOTIATION IN

NICISOA BEGINNING IN MID-MAY.

2. THERE APPEARS TO BE GROUND FOR AN HONEST DIFFERENCE OF OPINION OVER WHETHER THE TURKISH SIDE LIVED UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS REGARDING RESPONSE TO GREEK TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL. THE ANSWER SEEMS TO DEPEND ON WHICH COMMITMENT IS CONSIDERED. DE CUELLAR/GORGE FEEL STRONGLY THAT ONAN DID NOT MEET DENKTASH'S COMMITMENT TO DE CUELLAR (PARA FOUR, REF C) THAT, UPON PRESENTATION OF GREEK MAP, "HIS SIDE WOULD CERTAINLY NEGOTIATE SUBSTANTIALLY AND MEANINGFULLY ON SUCH PROPOSALS AND NOT RESTRICT ITSELF TO MAKING COMMENTS." THEY CONSIDER THAT THE DISCUSSION ON TERRITORY WHICH TOOK PLACE IN VIENNA, PRINCIPALLY ON APRIL 4, WAS ONLY DISCUSSION AND NOT BY ANY SEMANTIC STRETCH NEGOTIATION. ONAN DID LIMIT HIMSELF TO MAKING COMMENTS. SHERRY THINKS TURKISH SIDE CAN BE REGARDED AS HAVING MET, ALBEIT IN AN ABSOLUTELY MINIMAL WAY, ITS COMMITMENT TO UN. ON THE OTHER HAND, DE CUELLAR/GORGE READ TO AMBASSADOR LONG RELEVANT PORTION OF UN'S MINUTES OF APRIL 4. FROM THIS, IT WAS EVIDENT TO AMBASSADOR THAT ONAN HAD COMMENTED COMPREHENSIVELY AND SPECIFICALLY ON WHAT THE TURKISH SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT IN THE GREEK PROPOSAL, BY IMPLICATION LEAVING GREEK SIDE FREE TO DRAW ITS OWN CONCLUSION AS TO WHAT TURKS COULD ACCEPT AS AN INITIAL RPT INITIAL GREEK PROPOSAL. ONAN WAS EMPOWERED AND DID DISCUSS SPECIFIC AREAS. THEREFORE, DENKTASH'S SUBSEQUENT AND SEPARATE COMMITMENT TO AMBASSADOR (PARA EIGHT REF B) WAS MET. DE CUELLAR ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE BEST RECORD OF APRIL 4 WILL BE THAT PREPARED BY GOC TEAM BY MRS. SOULIOTI, WHO HAS A PRECISE LEGAL MIND AND WAS TAKING FULL SHORTHAND NOTES THROUGHOUT. COMMENT: AMBASSADOR CONFIDENTIAL

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HAS MEETING WITH PAPADOPOULOS APR 20 AND WILL SEEK TEXT OF GOC RECORD FOR TRANSMISSION TO DEPT. END COMMENT.

3. DE CUELLAR CONSIDERS THAT, SOMEWHAT TO HIS SURPRISE, PAPADOPOULOS PLAYED A RESPONSIBLE, MATURE AND COURTEOUS ROLE IN VIENNA. HE HAS CONTINUED THIS SINCE.

4. DE CUELLAR NOTED IN PASSING THAT GOG SEEKS TO BE DENIGRATING VIENNA MORE THAN GREEK CYPIOTS. HE BELIEVES THIS IS WITH AN EYE ON WASHINGTON AND GREECE'S QUEST FOR US SUPPORT AGAINST TURKEY GENERALLY AND SPECIFICALLY ON THE AEGEAN.

5. LOOKING TOWARD MID-MAY RESUMPTION IN NICOSIA, DE CUELLAR/GORGE HAVE BEGUN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH KEY PLAYERS. ON APR 18, THEY SAW PAPADOPOULOS AND TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON. A SESSION WITH TURKISH CYPIROT NEGOTIATOR ONAN HAS BEEN SET UP LATER APR 19. PAPADOPOULOS WAS SKEPTICAL THAT MAY TALKS WOULD PROVIDE RESULTS, BUT HE ASSURED DE CUELLAR HE WOULD

ATTEND AND NEGOTIATE IN A MEANINGFUL WAY. HE CONTINUES TO ARGUE THAT TERRITORIAL ISSUE BE GIVEN MORE WEIGHT. PAPADOPOULOS NOTED THAT IN VIENNA ONAN PROMISED TO MAKE CLARIFICATIONS ON CERTAIN TERRITORIAL POINTS. HE THINKS RESULTING DISCUSSION CAN PROVIDE GRIST FOR A COUPLE OF MEETINGS. PAPADOPOULOS IS READY TO DISCUSS TECHNICAL DETAILS OF LAND OWNERSHIP BUT ONLY IF TURKISH CYPRIOTS AGREE AHEAD OF TIME THAT THEY WILL ACCEPT RESULTS OF A JOINT LAND OWNERSHIP ANALYSIS AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT. THE GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR DOES NOT WANT TO GO THROUGH OWNERSHIP EXERCISE AND THEN HAVE TURKISH CYPRIOTS FALL BACK ON SECURITY OR OTHER CRITERIA TO NULLIFY RESULTS.

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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1043

6. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH DE CUELLAR, TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON WAS MILDLY ENCOURAGING ON THE PROSPECT OF TURKISH CYPRIOT WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS TERRITORY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED DENKTASH'S CURRENT PRICKLINESS WOULD BE A PROBLEM, BUT THOUGHT THAT PROXIMITY OF DENKTASH TO ONAN IN THIS NEXT PHASE MIGHT ENABLE LATTER TO BE BETTER INSTRUCTED AND THUS MORE RESPONSIVE. ONHON SAID HIS OWN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH POLITICAL SITUATION IS THAT IN EXPECTED ABSENCE OF AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY FOR EITHER PARTY, IT WILL TAKE UNTIL THE END OF JULY BEFORE TURKEY AGAIN HAS A FUNCTIONING, EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION. TO HIM THIS MEANS THAT IT

WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS ON CYPRUS BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST.

7. ONHON TOLD DE CUELLAR THAT SENIOR GOT FONOFF OFFICIAL SUBASI WOULD BE VISITING NICOSIA NEXT WEEK.

8. DE CUELLAR'S PRESENT IDEA IS TO SHOOT FOR SOMETIME BETWEEN MAY 17 AND 19 FOR FIRST NICOSIA SESSION AND TO WORK FOR TWO MEETINGS EACH WEEK (I.E. A TOTAL OF FOUR)  
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BEFORE RECESSING THE TALKS FOR TWO WEEKS OR SO IN JUNE WHEN DE CUELLAR MUST BE IN NEW YORK FOR UNSC DEBATE ON UNFICYP MANDATE EXTENSION. DE CUELLAR FEELS HE ALREADY HAS ENOUGH IN HAND TO OCCUPY FOUR MEETINGS USEFULLY BUT THAT TO PRESS FOR MORE WOULD BE TO STRAIN SUBSTANCE BEYOND THE LIMITS IMPOSED BY TURKISH ELECTIONS AND FOLLOWING FALLOW PERIOD OF POLITICAL REORGANIZATION IN ANKARA. HE STRESSES WLADHEIM'S WILLINGNESS TO BE AVAILABLE FOR FURTHER MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES EARLY IN AUGUST, EITHER IN VIENNA OR IN NICOSIA.

9. DRAWING ON APRIL 8 DISCUSSIONS IN ATHENS, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT ONAN HAD LEFT MANY LOOSE ENDS IN HIS PRESENTATION ON CONSTITUTION. THIS ASPECT MIGHT USEFULLY BE GONE OVER IN GREATER DETAIL IN MAY. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT BETWEEN NOW AND MAY CONTINUATION HE WOULD BE SEEING THE PARTIES IN NICOSIA IN A MANNER SUPPORTIVE OF UN IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE THE MAY MEETINGS BE AS MEATY AS POSSIBLE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED ON A PERSONAL BASIS POSSIBILITY OF SOME US REINVOLVEMENT, PERHAPS A FURTHER CLIFFORD MISSION, BEFORE ANOTHER PLENARY UNDER WALDHEIM AS CONTRIBUTION TO SOME REAL CLOSING OF THE SUBSTANTIVE GAPS.

10. NOTING THAT WALDHEIM MUST PRESENT A PROGRESS REPORT IN CONNECTION WITH UNSC DEBATE OF UNFICYP IN JUNE, DE CUELLAR/GORGE EXPECTED THIS WOULD CLOSELY RESEMBLE PRESIDENT CARTER'S APRIL 15 SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS ON CYPRUS.

11. AMBASSADOR INFORMED DE CUELLAR/GORGE OF HIS APRIL 18 MEETING WITH CHRISTOPHIDES. IT WAS AGREED TO CONTINUE THIS KIND OF VERY CLOSE EXCHANGE IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.  
CRAWFORD

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## Message Attributes

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